2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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The Delawares

traded to the Europeans and presumably they themselves utilized "otters, lynxes, fishes, minks, wild-cats, elk-hides. . .wolf skins, lion-hides, martins, and musk rat."[31] Neither the elk nor the bison formed an important part in Delaware subsistence in the eighteenth century, because their hides were "thick and heavy and of no value."[32] Neither animal was abundant in their habitat. Various birds formed a welcome addition to the diet and included "wild swans" (geese?), wild turkeys, wild pigeons, and partridges.[33] One seventeenth-century source described a method of pigeon hunting; trees which were favorite roosts for these birds were chopped nearly through, so that when a flock of pigeons settled down in the tree it would topple, killing a number of the birds.[34]

Individual hunting seems to have been confined primarily to the winter months; communal hunts, however, took place in the spring, summer, and fall.[35] One method of collective hunting, the "fire surround," was described by Lindestrom:

> When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people (to take a position) close together in a circle of 1/2, 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. . . each one roots up the grass about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians. . . . When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals.[36]

De Vries described a "surround" in which the game was driven into an enclosure and shot with a bow and arrow, and also a variant type in which the game was driven into a river and lassoed.[37] An informant told Kinietz that "four hunters were as many as ever hunted together," but this is contrary to what informants told me and surely did not hold true in early times.[38] Communal hunts were led by "the oldest or most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council."[39] Zeisberger related that there was a strictly formalized hunting etiquette:

> It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

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[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.
[32] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 59; Loskiel, p. 79.
[33] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 65-66.
[34] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 218.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 213; De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 58, 91, 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[36] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 213-14.
[37] De Vries, 1909, p. 220; Brinton, 1890, p. 184.
[38] Kinietz, 1946, p. 64; J. T., M. B.
[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91; Kinietz, 1946, p. 64.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[58]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[59] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[60] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[61] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[62]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[63] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[64] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[65] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[66] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[67] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[68] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[69] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[70] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[71] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[58] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 38; Fenton, 1942.
[59] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.
[60] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.
[61] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1887, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.
[62] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.
[63] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.
[64] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
[67] Juet, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 286; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 88-89; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.
[69] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.
[70] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.
[71] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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135 are, for the most part, of a gray, fine sand and make as good whetstones as one might wish. Rocks you meet occasionally along the Ohio, but away from the river and here along the Muskingum very few, even most of, the mountains and hills are not rocky.

Pit-coal is found in abundance, but as there is no lack of wood it is little used and hardly thought of by the Indians. In Pittsburg the coal is used in fire-places and by blacksmiths.

[324] [276] A kind of stone, black in color, is found here, that is easily worked and cut. It has no sand in its composition and the Indians make tobacco pipes of it, some doing very neat work.

There is also a kind of stone, blue in color, which is very hard. It somewhat resembles the limestone of Pensilvanien, but examination has shown it to be different. Limestone has not yet been found in this region.

A mineralogist would find many more varieties to describe, to which I am unable to give even the names, especially along the shores of the river, where all kinds may be seen, green, yellow, blue, red and black. About ore I know little or nothing concerning this region. The Indians believed themselves to have found gold and silver, but what they produced as precious ore, because it resembled this somewhat, on the test and examination of whites was found to be sulphurous substance.[138] Whatever glitters, the Indians are apt to look upon at once as being gold or silver.

317 276 [439] The Cherokees, who through the years have had much intercourse with the Delawares, brought with them many tobacco pipes for trade. These they made of quite white stone, probably white marble.[139] When completed they blackened the pipes and in such a way that they retained their color. These pipes are made so neatly that they are no heavier than the European pipes.

From the Mississippi the Indians bring red marble, whenever they come from that direction. Of this pipes are also made. [213] Such pipes, however, are as a rule to be seen only in the possession of chiefs or captains, for not many of them are to be had. A pipe of this sort is generally used in council or on solemn occasions. This is carried about by the chief counsellor, each

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136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnshes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly. [439]

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[101] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[102] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the creature tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians. [262]

The pole-cat[103] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor. [262]

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D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[200] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[201] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[202] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

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Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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Trade with Europeans is carried on usually on the basis of fixed price, both as concerns goods and pelts. The Indians trade their deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, fox-skins, wild-cat-skins and others for goods which the traders often take a considerable distance into the Indian country. If they can deceive the whites, they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all that they catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger in arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger, not only of losing their property but also for their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods upon credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled.

The Indians trade much among themselves, especially the women, who deal in rum, which they sell at exorbitant prices, which occasions much disorder. Indian traders usually demand high prices, knowing well that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon closing the bargain, he would rather not deal with them. Indians when really anxious to obtain anything will pay almost any price. If they are in need of corn they will give goods or pelts in exchange for it. Frequently, the chiefs have prohibited the sale of strong drink in their towns, but it is always brought in in some manner, against which the chiefs are powerless to protest. For instance, they may appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used. This the chiefs cannot hinder owing to established custom. When once the Indians, who gather in large numbers for such a sacrifice, have tasted the strong drink but have not satisfied themselves, they will go to the old women who deal in liquor.

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273 438 The latter will often obtain everything that an Indian owns except his Breech-clout. For their skins the Indians get from the traders powder, lead, rifle-barrelled guns—for other weapons they do not value — blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, ●439 callemanco,[297] knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles, — these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything — bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools.

535 If the young are at home and not on the chase hardly a night passes without a dance. The women, who always follow the men, dancing in a circle, act with decency and becoming modesty, as if they were engaged in the most serious business. Neither laughing nor levity are to be noticed and they never speak a word to a man, for this would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot after the other slightly forwards then backwards, yet so as to advance gradually. The men shout and leap and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Whatever man acts in the oddest and most ridiculous manner is the most regarded. They dance in a circle around the fire. Often in the midst of the dance they will all hold their heads forward over the fire, stand bowed or leap and stamp, singing all the time; suddenly they stand erect again and move forward. They make all manner of unusual movements to show their agility and skill. They have no other music than the drum. When one dance has been finished the one who beats the drum sings and beats until another begins. There is always a leader whom all watch carefully and follow. They have various kinds of dances, some acquired from the other nations.

526 The young men often wrestle to test their strength. The one thrown is not angered but admits the other to be his master. Another mode of testing strength is in trying to lift some large stone, or throwing a stone of considerable size the greatest distance possible.

525 Nine-pins, ball-playing and cards they have learned from the whites. The Indian game of dice is the most popular of

escape. In the summer and on trips shelter was not considered necessary (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 211). Most villages also contained a "Big House" which served as a place for religious assemblies and council meetings, but both of these functions were sometimes performed outdoors or in the chief's house.

As aids to transportation the Delaware used the carrying straps, pack baskets (used by both men and women) and canoes. Their bark canoes were of birch or chestnut. They also used a dugout made by first burning a suitable log and then scraping the charred portions out with sharp stones and shells (Johnson, p. 280). Vessels capable of ocean travel were constructed by fastening two large dugout canoes together and using mats for sails.[7] In these, journeys were made as far as New England and Virginia (Johnson, p. 280; Lindstrom, p. 237).

Nineteenth century writers were of the opinion that the Lenape used large amounts of copper and perhaps even worked it themselves (Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Abbott, 1885, pp. 774-77). More recent evidence, however, indicates that copper was not abundantly used, the most common form in which it is found being tubular beads, and that it was received solely in trade (Skinner, 1909, p. 28).

Clothing

The clothing of the Indian men consisted in summer of a leather girdle from which hung a flap of leather.[8] At this time of year the Delaware frequently went without footwear (Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; 1698, p. 433; Danckaerts, pp. 169 and 280; Lindstrom, pp. 191-92 and 197). The women's dress consisted of a square piece of leather fringed at the bottom which was bound around the waist as a short skirt (Skinner, 1915, p. 5; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). In winter, both sexes added leather leggings, moccasins and robes of animal skins or turkey feathers to this costume. Apparently the skins of bear, deer and raccoon were most commonly used for clothing. All of the clothing was decorated with colored designs of dyed porcupine quills or wampum (Pastorius, 1698, p. 433; Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 202; Skinner, 1915, pp. 3 and 5).

Both sexes decorated themselves with numerous ornaments, the women, however, outdoing the men. Wampum was hung in chains around the neck and from the ears, and woven in bands which were worn around the head, sometimes with a single feather set in them (Pastorius, 1698, p. 434; Lindstrom, p. 196). Around the neck were also worn necklaces of dyed deer hair and native copper, stone and shell pendants and breast plates (Abbott, 1875, p. 327; Heye, pp. 32-42). In addition, men were seldom without their pipe, tobacco pouch and bag of food also hung about the neck (Lindstrom, p. 197). For festive occasions the ornamentation was greatly increased and face paint of various designs added. Hair and skin shining with bear grease was

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XX.

Concerning the Commerce, Trade and Dealings of the American Savages and How Their Goods Are Sold to the Christians, Also How the Merchandise of the Christians Is Disposed for Them to the Savages.

Concerning the merchandise of the savages [it is to be said] that they[1] sell to the Christians all kinds of fur goods, such as beavers, otters, lynxes, fishers,[2] raccoons,[3] minks, wild-cats, elk-hides, bear-hides, wolf-skins, lion-hides,[4] deer-hides, checkered foxskins,[5] martins, musk-skins[6] and other kinds [of furs]. The savages also sell to the Christians foodstuffs, such as Indian corn of all kinds, Turkish beans, deer, elk and bear meat, fresh fish of all kinds; also all kinds of birds, such as wild turkeys, wood-grouse, black-grouse, partridges, swans, geese, hazel-grouse, and pigeons, etc. [They also sell] all kinds of fruits, peaches or skinless apples, watermelons, chestnuts, walnuts, plums, bullace-plums, grapes and wild hops. [They] likewise [sell] what they produce by the work of their hands.

If one should buy the aforesaid articles from the savages with the cash money of the savages they are expensive enough, but when one pays for

[1] The Indians. "Of their Bying and Selling," see Williams, *Key*, 133 ff.
[2] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5a.
[3] Cf. above, Chapt. VIII, note 5b.
[4] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 1.
[5] *Isprängde räfskins.*
[6] See above, Chapt. VIII, note 6.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers*, 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers*.

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[1] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan*, a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan*. Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins [80] and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[2] This valuation is only an approxima-

[1] *Beendes uth som ierfwar*, the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[2] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles

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tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality.

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these[9] are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet.

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

[9] The goods of the Christians.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Ann medh giöpen. Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

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Holland frieze will cost the savage 1 *riksdaler* and 42 *öre* silver money and ¼ handful of powder 1 *riksdaler* and 12 *öre* silver money, at 6 *daler* silver money apiece. One axe is worth 3 florins; a hoe, 3 florins; a pick, 3 florins; a shovel, 3 florins; a bodkin, 1 florin; a small common pair of scissors, 3 florins; a knife, 1 or 2 florins; a small mirror, which may cost 2 or 3 *öre* copper money in Stockholm, [sells for] 1 florin; 1 pin,[13] 1 florin; a common sewing needle, 1 florin; glass beads, [a string] 3 times around the arm, 1 florin, etc. The aforesaid small wares are placed high enough for the savage [in exchange] for his pelts, but if the trade is done in the money of the savages, then it will cost the Christians more.

Formerly it was indeed forbidden, and agreed[14] among the Christian nations, that no guns, powder or lead should be sold to the savages; but after the English in Virginia had broken the law and first begun to sell guns to the savages (which they have raised in value according to their quality, the cheapest [they sold] at 10 beaver [skins] and up to 20 beaver [skins] apiece for the dearest, so that one gun which is of some value, may cost the savages over 40, 50 and 60 *riksdaler*, at 6 *daler* silver money), therefore the Swedes began to sell powder and lead for them.[15] So much for the mutual trade of the Christians and the savages.

[13] *En stammenål*, perhaps a large pin with a head (often of glass).

[14] *Förbudit och afsagt*, perhaps forbidden and renounced.

[15] For the guns. The settlers in the various colonies accused each other of selling firearms to the natives against the law of nations, but it was a case of the pot calling the pan black. They all sold what they could and made profits in any way they were able.

[p. 228 is blank]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

the root, in the stump of which they dig out a round hole and thus make a mortar which is suited for the purpose and in which they pound all their grain to meal.[4] And then they bake their meal into small loaves as large as a small cheese,[5] in which they use a kind of berry like currants. Nor do they use any other bake-oven than the embers. The ashes they use according to the manner of the birds, to clean their stomach with, as the birds do with sand instead of salt, therefore they are not so particular, if their bread gets to be a little ashy. They have just recently begun to buy a little salt of the Christians, but they do not know how to use it otherwise than to chew a little of it at a time, like other costly spices.[6]

To brew ale or distill brandy, that they cannot turn their hand to. In reference to the frying by the savages [it is to be noted] that they know no other manner of doing it than to cut for themselves slender spits of wood, pass them through the meat or the fish, stick the spits down into the ground, and turn the meat or the fish near the fire.[7] When it now may be about half fried on the one side, then he turns the other side to the fire and when it is half fried on both sides, so that the blood still remains in it, then he considers it most wholesome and best to eat. In reference to the cooking of the savages [it may be stated] that they have

[4] Cf. Van der Donck and other Dutch writers of the early 17th Century, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, II, III.

[5] Perhaps six or eight inches in diameter.

[6] The natives apparently did not season their food with salt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 418 ff.

[7] See illustration facing page 253. The natives of Africa smoke and roast their fish in the same way.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

a full [supply] of copper and brass kettles for the purpose, large and small, which the savages buy from the Christians, hanging on a pole[8] along their hut or house from the one door to the other, below which the fire is made up, as has been stated before. And the savage woman whom the sachem owns for a wife, she is the housekeeper for the whole crowd. She selects for the cooking and determines which one of the savage women then and then,[9] each in her turn, shall look after the cooking. When now they think that the food is cooked, which indeed they use half cooked, then the kettles are carried forth to the housekeeper who pours out the food and divides it around for the people, 6 and 6 to a kettle. The vessels used for this purpose are small copper and brass kettles and cut-off calibashes like cups.[10]

As far as their drink is concerned [it may be said] that they drink with the goose.[11]

But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they also do it with hot embers in the fireplace. They make and knead the whole dough into one loaf, as wide as the bottom of the oven, raised like a loaf of rye bread. Then they sweep the fireplace clean and lay a couple of layers of large leaves next to the stones upon which they place the bread, then some layers [of leaves] on top and around the bread, and then

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[8] *Hängandes på en åås.* *Ås* in this connection would usually mean the ridge (ridge-pole) of a house, but Lindeström apparently uses the word in the sense of a pole.

[9] *Då och då*, *i.e.*, from time to time.

[10] See above, Chapt. VII, note 13. It seems strange that Lindeström does not mention clay pots.

[11] See above, p. 234, note 4.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several 252
cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish 262
formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used 411
in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware [439]
is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·'yu'ni· ndeli·' wi·tcinge·'n note·'ha·'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially
[767] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay. 436 439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.[1] In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro- 178 796

[1] The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
[593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
988 women were accused by the men of being
●439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption
571 on the part of all Delawares—men and women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

14:Leslie A-4.8 (no date) 1951
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P.14, A]

172 the writer has found that these implements
324 occur generally on Minsi sites. It is pos-
412 sible that they deserve more significance than Ritchie's tables would indicate. Ritchie (op. cit., p. 236) lists five types: expanded base, expanded side-notched base, expanded scraper base, T-shaped base, and Y-shaped base. Presently available statistics do not permit a selection of the most common form or forms (Plate 11, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6).

Trade Goods

172 Any trade goods found in the upper
439 Delaware area are almost certainly surviving evidence of the period of Minsi-Caucasian contact. In general, trade material is extremely rare, evidencing the fact that the contact period was of very short duration in this area. One notable exception to this general paucity of trade material is that part of the Bell Site excavated by Heye and Pepper early in the second decade of the present century. In their exploration, Heye and Pepper found numerous articles of European or Colonial origin, including beads, metal kettles, etc. (See their "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery near Montague, N. J.", 1915.)

The writer has found only two artifacts evidencing Caucasian contact: a sheet brass triangular arrowpoint from the Davenport Site across the Delaware from Milford, Pa., found on the surface in 1934, and a small perforated triangular ornament of catlinite from near Cocheton, Sullivan Co., N. Y. (Plate 11, No. 10, shows the brass arrowpoint; Plate 1, No. 6, is the catlinite ornament.)

Summary

172 With the exception of numerous pottery decorative patterns within the framework of certain Owasco and Iroquoian ceramic techniques, it is evident that Minsi material culture is not characterized by variety. This is, of course, an example of a cultural

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM? Delaware NM?

[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
[527] sion that ever brings them together as a
[657] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
[439] previous years, and some of the present, in advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

[451(A)]

D
439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
D
[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight
D
452 regard for money. As the payment was de-
443 layed more than a day beyond the time, I noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

D
273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.

S
648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the